1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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the world' (μὲ ἔφερε στὸ κόσμο). With the physical connexion between mother and son, goes a recognition of the overwhelming pain of childbirth, and the passive courage which is necessary to resist it. Women work until the last moment. Some Sarakatsani tell how their mothers were out gathering herbs or firewood when the pains began. They point out the tree or stone that marks the place of their birth. They tell how the mother assisted by a companion, or in some cases entirely alone, having cut the cord and buried the afterbirth, then loaded up the new child and the bundle of firewood and returned to the hut.

The attachment of the son to his mother draws strength from his own childhood memories and from the accepted qualities any Sarakatsan mother is presumed to possess. There is the long suckling period. He remembers how his mother was always the provider of food and unconditional love; how she made a phylactery and secured it under his shirt to protect him from the attacks of the Devil. He remembers her distracted care for him in sickness and her divination to find the evil eye that was the cause of it.

The status of a mother of married sons is considerable in the extended family. I remarked earlier that the wife/mother plays an expressive role. What she expresses is the integrity and solidarity of the group. The brothers explain their attachment to one another with reference to the fact that they were born from the same mother. The mother acts as the diplomat and peacemaker between the dissident wives. Despite the ambivalence of attitude between mother and daughter-in-law, wives work amicably enough under the instructions of their husband's mother. They do not work amicably under the wife of the eldest brother and it is noticeable that extended families, where the mother of the brothers is dead, do not survive long. In such cases there is lacking a social personality that symbolizes and mediates the mutual attachment of the various elementary families within the extended group. Thus, married sons in an extended family come once more to respect their mother's authority in her own particular sphere as mistress of the extended household. The senior brother who is head of the household punctiliously consults her about all decisions that affect the family, whether they are strictly concerned with her

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her daughters her reputation is dependent, just as the honour of the children is itself contingent on the sexual virtue of their mother.

The final stage of a woman's life is the period between the marriage of her eldest son and her death. She now gains a new freedom both from the authority of her husband, who retires about this time, and from the restrictions of social convention. She goes freely into shops to make small purchases for the family and may stop to pass the time of day with unrelated men she meets. With a young bride to do the heavy work about the hut she at last finds a respite from constant drudgery, and her sons treat her with a new-found respect as the mistress of the extended family. Such an old woman should have a kind heart and treat the wives of her sons with firmness but justice. She is their moral guide and practical adviser, to whom they turn in difficulty or doubt. At childbirth she is the midwife who delivers their children and gives them comfort and courage.

The reputation of an old woman is already formed on the basis of her behaviour in earlier life. If she has passed through her life without any questioning of her virtues, if she has sons who are manly, and if she has a kindly personality, the community probably approves of her. When she is above sixty years of age, or if her husband is dead, the sexuality of woman is considered to be spent and she is said to have a 'clean soul' (καθαρὴ ψυχή). Such a woman draws the water and kneads the bread which is taken to church at Easter. In these respects the prestige of some old women is considerable.

But old women are also feared. Knowledge of magic techniques and remedial procedures for the evil eye are attributed to them; and their curses are believed to be efficient *ex opere operato*. Where old women have a good name they use these skills in a socially approved manner to protect their families from spiritual dangers. But certain old women have a reputation for the evil and aggressive use of these powers. In these cases there are often allegations of dishonour in earlier life. A woman who surrenders to lust loses her soul to the Devil and remains his familiar. Envy is often the motive ascribed to her. Typically she is the woman accused of magically impairing a bridegroom's potency because he did not seek the hand of her own daughter. The attribution of envy often rests on valid

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If, despite these precautions a person (or sheep) is bewitched, 755
relief is generally found in a procedure which first identifies the possessor of the evil eye and then counteracts its influence. A bowl of water is taken and a hair of the bewitched person (or a strand of the sheep's fleece) is placed under the bowl. Small pieces of wood carbon are taken from the fire and after the surface of the water has been crossed three times the first fragment about the size of a small finger nail is dropped into the water. The operator, who is almost always a woman, puts [756]
to the piece of carbon the name of a person she may suspect. If the carbon floats the person in question is not guilty, if it sinks one evil eye at least is known. If more than one eye is suspected the process is continued. When the operator is satisfied that the worst has been uncovered, the sick or otherwise afflicted person is crossed with the water in the bowl forty times on the brow, the hands, the feet and the afflicted part if pain or other symptoms are localized. Finally, the patient drinks a little of the water from the bowl.

In putting names to the pieces of carbon the operator is guided by various considerations. Who, to her knowledge, has recently seen the afflicted person or animal? And, of these, who is generally noted for an envious nature, or has a reputation for unconscious bewitching, or is simply disliked by herself and her family? If none of these proves to be guilty, other names chosen at random are put to the carbon. But this rarely happens. From observations on five different occasions and a certain amount of personal experiment it appears that about one fragment of carbon in every five sinks. Therefore the guilty person almost invariably is among those whom the operator considers to be likely possessors of the evil eye. And this confirms the validity of the procedure.

Most people are probably found to be guilty of unconscious 754
bewitching at some time in their lives. If the victim is a relation, [755]
the bewitcher will generally co-operate to counteract the influence of his eye by giving a hair which is added to the draught administered to the patient. If the sufferer is unrelated, he will probably not learn of the fact, certainly not in a direct manner. Certain persons are generally believed by the community to have a powerful evil eye which they exercise from feelings of conscious envy. These persons may be of either sex and generally come from poor families of low prestige whose

/245 cont./

128 as he too plots his course in the half-light of his conscience, reacts in the presence of the unknown, the mysterious, the marvelous in the cosmic and human universe, through action (magic), contemplation both rational and affective (knowledge, myth, religion), strong emotion harmoniouly ordered (esthetics). We shall thus proceed in broad outlines, though the order followed in our analysis will not be exactly the same. No matter. Our goal this time is to come near to the Sarakatsani soul. We shall seek it out in the hope of reaching it through its external manifestations--through the works which it engenders and encompasses.

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CHAPTER I

SARAKATSANI MAGIC

123 609 789 754 755 The path to the study of magic is barred by numerous obstacles.

First the terminology. Our herders designate by the term "magic" everything that pertains to black magic, the magic of charms and spells. For them white magic, curative, indissolubly connected with everyday life, does not deserve this name.

Next, the curative ritual is hidden in the shadow of the secret and mysterious, for fear that its communication, especially to a stranger, would desecrate it and make all manipulation ineffective. Similarly, and all the more so, discussions about black magic are forbidden in order to avoid attracting the evil, the mere mention of which might provoke it.

In the third place, the beliefs and ideas underlying the practices are inaccessible. They are either forgotten or purposely hidden or falsely formulated to confuse the investigator or give him a reply which "would please him."

123 124 All we can do is merely to record some scraps of information and conversations, to observe daily life, to make a list of actions, words, materials used and, as much as possible, to resort personally to magic cures. Then comes the effort to cross-check the information and observations,

/265 cont./
them salt (44) and incense. (45)

44. Because of its preservative properties which analogously act as a curative in numerous cases.

45. Incense is a means of purification.

Τουρκικοι Μάγειρες: Περὶ Τρόφιμων. M.P.G. 6, 667.

A young man told us that during his military service he suffered from nightmares. He therefore put a little salt in his pocket and got rid of them. Carsten Hoeg, for his part, (46)

46. Ibid., vol. II.

has recorded an account according to which the monks of a monastery one day caught a demon that was hiding in the church. They shut doors and windows tight and burned much incense. The demon suffocated.

However, these practices are not the only ones. There are others. The following account is very significant:

A young shepherd had left his flock in order to steal some bunches of grapes in the vicinity. Coming back he heard violins that were invisible and could not be accounted for, the melody from which rose up in the nearby ravines and gorges. The shepherd hurridly departed. But as he approached a bridge thrown over a torrent he saw a donkey stretched out in the middle and very near it a cat that circled it and seemed to stand guard over the sleeping donkey. /266/ Our shepherd immediately understood that these were two demons metamorphosed as donkey and cat (the shapes they prefer). Thereupon, drawing out his pistol, he fired a shot by pressing the trigger with the fingers of his left hand. Immediately, the cat vanished in the air while the donkey got up, took several steps and exploded with a noise of thunder.

There are numerous conclusions that one may draw from this account. The apparition of supernatural beings is accompanied by mysterious music. (47)

47. See farther on, the case of fairies.

The demons may take the shape of an animal and belong to the "left side," or accursed side, of the world which is in two parts the right being

342 /274 cont./
789
372 widespread belief. See: A. Métraux: Contribution au Folklore Andin, p. 87.--P. Deffontaines: Géographie et Religion, p. 30 (Madagascar), etc.

751 The Sarakatsani women put nettle leaves on their clothing in order
824 to protect their skin from irritation caused by clothing and perspiration, especially during the long marches of the seasonal migrations. It is a practice based on the idea that, since the irritation caused by the nettle and the sweat seem the same, the same cause is found in their origin. When one wears the cause on oneself, it will not work against one, for it is as if the cause worked against itself. (71)

71. It is the same idea that justifies the wearing of the weight from the fairies' spindle in order to protect oneself against their evil spells.

752 The Sarakatsani treat chapped hands and lips with the blood of a lamb
825 killed during the festival of Saint George, the protector of the Sarakatsani. The blood of the lamb offered as a sacrifice has curative properties. (72)

72. As we shall see in connection with religion.

755 The technique of the transfer of an evil, which we were able to observe in the protection against Daoutis, is also applied in connection with /275/ throat ailments. While pronouncing "religious words" (according to the common expression), the secret of which is, as usual, jealously guarded, the healer draws a sign of the cross on the throat and makes a gesture of transfering the evil onto the arm of the patient where a sort of vesicular pustule is formed, the treatment of which is very easy and less annoying than that of the throat.

789 The protection of the livestock against evil influences includes many
372 practices. We have spoken of the half-charred log and the head of the
825 viper which are carried into the strougha. In addition to promoting
233 fertility, they are charged with a protective role, the first as representative of the healing fire and the second owing to the inherent qualities of the snake. There are other methods which we must bring to light.

/277 cont./

754 object if one admires it, or into the air when one speaks of the success
789 of someone, or on oneself (80)
827

80. A practice known in antiquity:

ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ : Χαρακτῆρες D. 22, ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΥ : Εἰδύλλια VII 128.

(825) It seems that even animals followed it. Ἀθήναιος IX 394 B: "Once its chicks are born the pigeon spits on them to protect them from the evil eye."

in order to protect oneself from its influence of from that of others.

754 Children are the ones most exposed to the evil eye. When they are ill
755 the Sarakatsani women resort to various means of cure, including water, fire, salt, incense, fumigation, transference, the evocation of Christ, the sign of the cross, incantations whose secret was only partly confided to us, and silence which must be observed in connection with specific circumstances. However, this inventory would be incomplete if we did not mention
756 (462) that the woman who performs these rites must possess altogether special qualities. Yet it is very difficult to specify where these qualities come from and what they consist of. A knowledge of rites is required; an old woman practitioner passes it on to one of her daughters towards the end of her life, and this on a Maundy Thursday. But it also seems that knowledge does not suffice and that a certain predisposition is also required. Our information on this point goes no further, so we shall present some examples of practices in this ritual.

755 One fills a glass of water taken from a spring, keeping absolutely silent
788 while carrying it. Next one takes in one's hand a little salt, a little incense and some charcoal and makes the sign of the cross on the rim of the glass while /278/ murmuring an exorcism. Afterwards one sprinkles the child 40 times with this spring water and empties the rest into the hen house while pronouncing the /following/ formula three times:

(539) "May the evil eye leave this child."

755 The empty glass is left in the hen house for the night so that the evil will

/278 cont./

755 be transferred to its occupants.

Here is another example:

755 The lid of a cooking pot is filled with water and transported under
788 the same conditions and it is set on the ground. One picks up with tongs a glowing coal with which one makes the sign of the cross on the edges of the lid and, while murmuring the ritual phrase (of Byzantine origin):

[39] "Jesus Christ is the conqueror...
He dispels all evils..."

one lets the coal fall into the water while pronouncing the name of the one whom one suspects of having cast the evil eye on the child. If the coal remains on the surface it is certain that the person mentioned is innocent. One must then recommence the entire ritual while pronouncing the name of another suspect, then another, and so on until the coal sinks. The person responsible having been dicovered thanks to this procedure of divination, the child will immediately be rid of this baneful influence.

Another procedure consists of taking three grains of salt and three grains of incense with three fingers of the right hand used in crossing oneself (according to the Orthodox ritual) and making the sign of the cross on the child while murmuring an incantation that we do not know. After that
755 the salt and the incense are thrown on the fire and the child, its clothing and its covers are passed over it. Then the child, wrapped in the fumigated covers, is laid down and falls asleep.

The fumigations (as we shall call them from now on) constitute therapy not only against the evil eye but also against children's diseases.
755 Thus the flowers that have served as decorations for the Orthodox
824 epitaphios (worship at the tomb of the Lord) on Good Friday, saved and dried, are burned on these occasions. The same is done with the flowers of the wicker, /water willow?/ shrub to whose firmness and flexibility magic forces are attributed. We shall see farther on that the willow is

/278 cont./
used in many other magic proceedings.

/279/ Finally, one makes the sign of the cross over the affected individual while one holds some grains of salt. Then one throws the salt in the fire where it explodes. Whereupon one gathers up the fragments and puts them in water. When the salt has dissolved one sprinkles the patient with this liquid. The properties of salt combined with the purification by fire will act therapeutically on him. (81)

81. Several ideas are intertwined in these practices. The influence of certain materials and certain forces combined with the word, the exorcism or incantation, as well as with the evocation of sacred personages are at the center of the action. All this is well known to us, hence it is not necessary to go back to it. Let us point out only that these methods aim at purifying the afflicted subject.

The protection of the livestock against the evil eye presupposes mainly two things: an amulet and silence. The amulet consists of a new ball in which are put salt, incense, some pitch, some dust, etc. (materials which the women take to church on Maundy Thursday to have them blessed), (82) as well as some pieces of paper on which a country priest writes appropriate exorcisms. (83)

82. See the next chapter: the ritual of Maundy Thursday.

83. This is an old custom of pagan origin, related to oracles, etc., which St. Jean Chrysostome has severely criticized: M.P.G. 62, 358, etc. This same author gives us a brief description of these writings: Christian vows, magic phrases, names of rivers, star of David, etc. Since we have not had occasion to see the writings the Sarakatsani use, it is impossible for us to say whether they correspond to those described by Chrysostome. This custom has also been condemned

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754 himself. These methods can take effect either by contact with the victim or by proximity or even at a distance. One of our informants assured us that his grandmother had been stricken with blindness for seven years by having passed over bewitched objects.

(821) Sometimes the spells are cast by releasing the forces of nature. The enemies of a family that was celebrating the wedding of one of its members drew lightning on the company and caused the death of several persons.

The nature of the evil provoked by the spell, its duration and the recovery from it depend on the procedure used, on the power of the sorcerer and the means of defense available to the victims. Mysterious and incurable illnesses, sudden deaths, infirmities, material damage, economic catastrophes, family troubles, etc., are among the effects of black magic.

(791) There are several ways of coping with this. First, one can ask the aid of a richtologos. Then one can turn to the help of the Church in the (793) person of the country priest, who will initiate a special exorcism (789) against the spells. (86)

(955) 86. Neutralization of the evil by the opposition of favorable of unfavorable forces.

(151) Finally, one can use a protective amulet composed of various appropriate (789) objects, the most efficacious of which is the viper's head.
(825)

The magic function of the snake, the last but not least important 789 and the most secret, to which we have alluded on several occasions, completes 825 the list. The snake, a lunar and chthonian symbol, connected with rain, fecundity and fertility, knowing the mysteries of life and death, is also a prophet and a sage. (87)

87. Van de Leeuw: Ibid., p. 67.--On the capacities of the snake as sage see: A.W. Perssons: The religion of Greece /cited in English/ who reports the ancient legend about the death and resurrection of Glaukos, son of Minos, brought about by the oracle of Polyidos who gave him a plant with which a

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789
825 snake had resuscitated another snake. Let us recall in this connection the sign of Aesculapius and the sacred snakes the medical center of Epidaurus.

It is therefore in the best position to neutralize occult acts and their harmful influence. It removes all ills, /281/ evil spirits, sicknesses, the evil eye. That is why we find it not only on men but also on the ram, the billy-goat or the sick (animals and people). It is considered "sacred" and has its place among the icons. Its properties emanate from its very nature, but also from various conditions. Not any viper at all can be transformed into an amulet. First it must be caught on the first of May. On this day men and women spread out over the countryside to hunt vipers. Armed with a stick that ends in a fork, they immobilize the animal and cut off its head. In Greek the word "magic" and the word "May" sound almost the same. Hence in several regions of the country the first of May is considered the most propitious day for magic.,(88)

825 789 (755)

88. This is the explanation of G. Megas:
[illegible]
p. 139. According to the Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines /Dictionary of Greek and Roman antiquity/ of Darenberg and Saglio, the word MAIA, the goddess maia "personified the bringing forth of living things and above all the development of plant life. The name of the month of May, Maius, has the same meaning and comes directly from the same root, but the Romans who celebrated the festival of Maia in May were inclined to believe that the goddess had given her name to the month... They linked Maia to the Good Goddess, Bona Dea, that is, to fecundity."

825 842 789 Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that it is bound up with the regeneration of nature, the fertility of the earth and the festivals and rites which relate to it. The snake is thus eminently suited to be taken as a symbol against magic and in favor of fertility--an adaptation which in

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in sexual life has already been emphasized, runs the risk of divorcing. That event will, in one stroke, lead to serious consequences for everybody--probably disturbances of a social order, in view of what has been said in connection with marriage and the functions of kinship. (91)

91. In Greek folklore, the couple is very often represented by a pair of snakes because of the role of the latter in fecundity. Hence to combat impotence it is necessary to find two snakes that copulate during the month of May, to cut off their heads and give them to the patient. The latter must sleep with his wife while keeping the heads in his pocket: W.H.D. Rouse: Folk-lore from the Southern Sporades /cited in English/, p. 157.

Sometimes the flock in the pasture will suddenly divide into two groups; this is a very bad sign for the men and their affairs. Perhaps they must be apprehensive lest this division foretell a conflict within the Tséligato, implying its breaking-up with /284/ all the disastrous consequences that may result from this. It seems that the unity of the flocks symbolizes that of the men.

Another evil portent for man and his affairs is being startled in the morning by a hare (92) or a partridge which suddenly and loudly takes

92. The hare brings bad luck. An ancient belief reported by Suidas and very widespread in Greece. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II.

off. The man is then overtaken by troxa, according to the Sarakatsani term, which means a state of terror that represents an imminent, very disagreeable surprise.

A rock that suddenly detaches itself from the mountain and rolls to the bottom of a ravine is a dreadful portent. It is a portent of death.

However, the best means of foretelling the future is "the reading of the shoulderblade." The moment a lamb roasted on the spit is carved up, one of the old men, usually the head of the family of the Tséligas,

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789 114 states, generators of illusions, and that these states are not individual, but that they result from the blending of feelings peculiar to the individual with feelings of the whole society."

3. As for the general, a priori character of magical judgments, their foundation lies in the reflections which we have just cited. "A magical judgment is imposed by a quasi-convention which prescribes prejudicially that the sign creates the thing, the part the whole, the word the event and so on. Actually, it is essential that the same associations be reproduced in the minds of several individuals, or rather a mass of individuals" (p. 118). And we have seen in the preceding how Mauss conceives "the common synthesis" based on common needs.

789 798 114 These points established, two major questions remain for us to examine: /314/ first, how is this convention arrived at, this public opinion which sanctions mana and magic effectiveness in general? And second, if the analysis of a specific magic shows that the latter does not presuppose mana, then what is its vehicle of magic effectiveness, "the verb which binds the elements of the magic judgment?"

[171] To answer the first question, Mauss, citing examples from Madagascar, from the Dayaks or the Pitta-Pitta, tells us that the rite is carried out and a magician operates in a state of collective delirium, of general overstimulation, and that consequently it is this ambience which causes the rite or the medical magic to be accepted as efficacious (pp. 126-127). [155] Similarly, for medical magic, "the rites which are carried out at home" (the former presuppose public magic) there is an analogous ambience. "We see there a tiny social group...with a head...the magician, and an embryo crowd which is all expectation, all dread, all hope, all credulity and all illusion" (p. 128).

With reference to the second question which coincides chiefly with Greek reality, Mauss (pp. 109 and 110) believes that, though the formerly universal notion of mana was later forgotten, some of it remains all the

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drama would be legitimate, especially when one takes into account the form of the rite and the season of the year during which it is celebrated. But the lament for the Holy Virgin points to the explanation we have proposed, in view of the fact that no similar practice exists in ancient religions and that, consequently, this could not be considered a survival from them. These customs therefore arise from the religious sentimentality of the people and their origin is lost in the shadow of the Hellenic Middle Ages. Furthermore, if the Sarakatsani mourn the Lord among themselves it is, according to their own explanation (which the same author has reported to us), (4)

4. Ibid., p. ρξδ'

because their isolation does not permit them to go to church and participate in the mourning of Christendom. We shall soon see that their society does not even hesitate, in the absence of priests, to take upon themselves the administration of the sacraments, a much more serious act from the religious point of view. Then why would they not sing a few hymns, an act that offends no dogma and would not be considered sacrilegious?

There is another custom connected with Good Friday. A woman from each Tséligato must go to church to fetch flowers laid on the "tomb" of the Lord; these flowers are used, as we have said, to make fumigations for sick children or for victims of the evil eye. This act, more magical than religious, indicates the nature of the tomb erected on that day in the konakia, which is considered merely a simple /330/ imitation of the official "tomb" venerated in the churches. If it were otherwise, the women would be able to use the flowers that serve to decorate it /the former/ instead of fetching flowers from the church.

* * * *

The systematic demands of our analysis require that we interrupt here the calendrical sequence and go on to certain remarks relating to

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796 the entrance of the hut. After that he kindles the fire and puts the
104 lamb on the spit; he personally oversees the cooking of it. The women
554 do not interfere in it. Thereupon everybody feasts.
[188]
[252]

[596] /332/ All this has an unquestionably ceremonial and sacrificial character; this time the protagonist is a man, the head of the family or the Tséligas.

796 Variations of the same ritual are repeated during the festivals
[176] of St. Demetrius and St. George, both (especially the first), considered
[474] protectors of the Sarakatsani. They are also carried out on the occasion
[554] of the personal anniversary of the Tséligas, when a stranger calls in the
[574] konakia and is offered hospitality, and finally for the votive festival
[182] of the stani, the group formed around the business, that is to say, the Tséligato.

796 This last point requires a more detailed explanation. Many Tséligatos
982 are "dedicated" to a saint. Sometimes, in case of necessity, out of
474 confusion or despair, certain Tséligas implore the help of a saint by
596 promising to offer, on the day of his anniversary and in perpetuity,
776 at a church or a monastery dedicated to him, money, incense, candles,
[554] lambs, etc. Very often, a small flock is formed, the profit from which "is consecrated to the saints." This promise is scrupulously kept and is obligatory for the descendants of the one who made the vow. Of course, the festival of the stani is celebrated on the day of its patron saint's anniversary.

796 In case of serious illness it is customary to summon the priest, to
155 read the prayers for the sick, and to celebrate a mass in a monastery or
982 a church. Then, with the customary offerings (bread, wine, oil, incense,
[252] candles, etc.), the Sarakatsani bring a lamb which they attach to the door of the church during the service and which is killed and roasted on
[262] the spit afterwards, like a sacrifice. The meat is distributed among all

/332 cont./

the people who attended the service and who must make prayers conforming to the wishes of those who organized the ceremony.

Let us note that the killing and common consumption of a lamb are required on two other occasions, marriage and baptism, and that, in addition, the same practice is found in the funeral customs of which we shall speak later on.

The explanation of these customs is very simple. Semantics is very useful to us on this point. To indicate the solemn putting to death of the lamb, the Sarakatsani use the Turkish word courbani or the Greek thusia which means "sacrifice."

At first glance one might be tempted by the hypothesis that the term "sacrifice" has merely an economic meaning--/333/ the death of any animal representing a privation for the herder. This interpretation, very incomplete if not biased, is inadequate.

The context in which the sacrifice takes place suggests three hypotheses: the sacrifice is first of all an offering to divine forces. It is also a gift to an outside visitor. Finally, it is an immolation bound up with certain circumstances of transition.

One fact among those we have mentioned is particularly revealing in connections with the ideas determining these customs. It is the offering of lambs to the church because of a vow or under pressure of a serious illness. In both cases a life is offered to ward off the threats against existence and to safeguard the life of the group or of an individual. There is here an exchange of potentialities which ethnography and the history of religions have known for a long time.

The offering of a life to ensure a favorable outcome in new situations originates from the same concern. The immolation of animals at the time something new materializes, for example, the foundations of a new house is known in Greek custom. And in Hellenic folklore there is a

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757 in the course of three consecutive mornings at day break, stand in front of the door of the hut, his right hand as high as possible on the door jamb and his left hand as low as possible on the opposite upright. Then he must bend his trunk deeply three times. This exercise must be repeated several times in succession with the hands reversed.

757 /352/ There is another treatment of lumbago: the patient lies
759 flat on his stomach on a "bed," and the healer starts to massage him. After that he takes hold of the patient's right hand and left foot and tries to join them above his back. He repeats the manipulation
[237] with the opposite limbs. These manipulations finished, the healer applies on the painful spot a sort of poultice made from the lungs of a recently killed young goat, cut in pieces, soaked in alcohol, sprinkled with sugar and raised to the normal body temperature.

757 To heal the inflammation of ganglions in the groin, a heated
756 wooden spoon is applied and the operation is repeated several times in succession while exorcisms are pronounced.

752 In case of scorpion bites it is necessary to rub the wound with the
824 milk of the fig tree.

757 Finally, medicinal plants are used to combat fever, a cold, etc.
278 The rest of Sarakatsani therapy deals exclusively with curative
757 magic. But one finds its presence everywhere be it only in the manner
755 of administering treatment by rational means. The examples cited are evidence: the exercise against lumbago is done "at daybreak" and not during the day; the poultice is made with the lungs of kids and not of lambs; the treatment of glands involves exorcisms, etc.

* * * *

128 Having presented this date, we shall try to formulate certain ideas about Sarakatsani knowledge.

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182 81 As for Sarakatsani knowledge, we must recall that it is dominated by utilitarianism, the advantages that may be derived from it, and not by disinterestedness. A struggler is not a contemplator, and the Sarakatsani are strugglers (isolation, herding). For their society and their kind of life, "scientific" research would be a luxury, aside from the fact that they lack the means to attain the knowledge that they lack. On the other hand, Sarakatsani knowledge is relevant to both /383/ material life (technology, crafts and herding) and the social man; it carries the two-fold concern of ensuring man's subsistence and organizing him more effectively economically as well as socially (kinship, 182 812 cooperation, etc.). Moreover, the Sarakatsani have need of a certain ideology capable of justifying their condition and of leading to a mythologizing of certain aspects of their existence which is all the more necessary since their life is beset with difficulties. Their constant struggle, their sacrifice and solidarity, their austere regime, etc., can be maintained only if these things are idealized and surrounded with myth. When you ask a Sarakatsani to look down on his life and express judgments about it, you are astonished to hear him idealize his condition even in its least attractive aspects.

182 781 782 755 (781) The limitations of knowledge, as we have noted, encourage the appeal to cosmological and anthropological myth, which is expressed, as we have also said, in curative magic and a partial syncretism with Christianity. The subjects that dominate these two spheres of ideas and the practices derived from them are fecundity, fertility, abundance, prosperity, health, protection against evil influences, finally foretelling the future, and these with respect to men as well as animals. The practices in question therefore protect the family and the kingroup, economic life and resources, in fact the entire community. This point opens the way

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182 to an understanding of the influences which come into play here and which
789 at the same time are derived from all the fundamental ideas enumerated
755 as these take on individual characteristics in concrete phenomena.

182 In conclusion, there remains for us to speak of Sarakatsani art,
53 specifically insofar as this art is "incorporated," reproducing magico-
789 religious symbols and providing the signs which keep the Sarakatsani in contact with the cultural treasures of his society. Its manifestations are therefore linked with the same ideas as the manifestations of magic--so that any further explanation is rendered unnecessary.

REPRESENTATIVENESS OF IDEAS. ABSTRACTIONS

121 Having completed the confrontation of ideas and phenomena, we may immediately draw from it a conclusion of fundamental importance: there is a correspondence between the ideas and the phenomena.

However, does this conclusion constitute a reply to the three questions that motivated the confrontation?

With regard to the first, and without going further, we /384/ can answer affirmatively: the fundamental ideas enumerated are not artificially constructed, but exist in reality. Their very correspondence with the phenomena proves it. If it were not so, the ideas would not be able to claim any reality for themselves.

But in order to reply to the other two questions, to know whether the ideas do or do not govern Sarakatsani life and whether they represent true abstractions, a specific task imposes itself. We must examine the correspondence in question, we must try to determine its content, its nature.

By observing anew the confrontation of ideas and phenomena we see that around isolation, herding and nomadism, kinship, male primacy, cooperation, community, conformity, cosmology and anthropology, finally religious syncretism, a great many phenomena converge. The ideas send